

FOLK LIFE AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE VILLAGE

177 customs like the people in Silwa. The visiting priest who comes yearly to
369 the village is certainly welcome on his arrival, and people flock to him for
198 advice on religious matters. On attending one of these meetings, the writer
[199] was struck by the number of questions that those present put to him concerning the details of prayers, e.g. whether one lifts his hand up to his shoulder or up to his ears, how one sits on after prostration, what one might say before and after prayers. Other questions that arose were queries about whether certain sayings or deeds were considered to be religiously approved or disapproved, how and to whom one would make a sacrifice oath, whether visiting saints' tombs is a good thing or not, and so forth.

[196] Village life, on the whole, whether in religious or social spheres, is very
[524] ritually and ceremonially conscious, and almost invulnerable on this level. Greeting, hospitality, eating, praying, exchange of social obligations, circumcision, marriage, and dozens of items of life are shrouded with ritual and traditional prescriptions. My informant, Mahmoud, told me that after a sermon given by a preacher coming from the city, who told the villagers that their customs practised on the death of a person were non-Islamic, they took a vow not to practise them any more. Yet the adherence to the oath was made for some six months, after which people gradually relapsed to their traditional ways, with the only exception that women were allowed to follow the deceased as far as the southern end of the village instead of going on to the cemetery as had been the practice hitherto.

753 The extent of social change on the folkhood of the village could be also examined in the villagers' ideas about sickness and disease which are mixed with ritual and religious beliefs. Disease, it is supposed, can be caused either by failure to fulfil some religious ritual or ceremony, such as a financially able man not performing his pilgrimage, or the failure to give the promised offerings to a saint, or providing a naming ceremony for a new-born baby. If saints are suspected as the cause of the disease, usually [175] a woman known to be the guardian of that particular saint, or upon whom saints descend, would be consulted to tell whether the family has broken or forgotten a sacrificial custom. If no special saint has been offended, [175] then bread could be specially baked and distributed as a 'karama' amongst people after the Friday prayer, asking God to relieve the sick.

[174] Sickness can also be caused by the evil eye, and in such cases a learned man is asked to recite verses from the Koran or write a charm (higab) to be worn by the sick person as a prophylactic safeguard as well as a means of treatment. Certain diseases like paralysis are believed to be caused by [175] the evil red wind emanating from the touch of jinn; an epileptic is also a person who is mounted and obsessed by jinn who usually haunt deserted places, wells, and high spots in the mountains. Curiously enough, tuberculosis is believed to be caused by pretence and social conceit.

Moreover, a sickness is considered as God's test for the endurance and patience of the faithful. As the faithful are always exposed to affliction, their faith in God should never be shaken, and hence their endurance of

BIRTH, INFANCY AND EARLY TRAINING

knife and an antimony stick. The child's eyes are treated with kohl as a protection against 'running eyes'. [844/51]

The navel cord is cut to a repetitive refrain. In the case of a boy, relatives would be singing:

Who supports his father
except him who descends from his loins.
May your legs be fit for the stirrup,
and your mouth for an answer. [533]

For a girl they sing only one line:

'She will make her father enter into the shade! (i.e. into the cool)
and she will visit him every day!'

The most dangerous period for the newly-born child and his mother is 'the first forty days'. This is the period of confinement for the mother as she is considered to be 'unclean' and cannot cook, wash or even say her prayers. She is called 'nafasia' (breathing woman) as if her breath were not clean, and this is the reason for her seclusion, as well as segregation from the rest of the household. She should take care of herself; she is advised not to move too much or to go out in the dark. She is usually fed on chicken, chicken broth, clarified butter molasses and other richly prepared dishes. She again becomes the centre of attention with respect to food given to her. [846/983/962]

On the other hand, the first forty days are regarded as 'the angelic period' for the child. He is guarded by angels against the 'evil spirits'. Yet the mother must remain in close proximity to the child, never leaving him alone, because if for any reason the angels were to neglect their guardianship, the child would be besieged by the devil. If the mother has to leave the child for a short time, someone else must attend to him. [776]

The next event in connection with the new baby is the official declaration of his name on the seventh day from his birth or sometimes at the end of the fortnight. For this purpose, a special ceremony is held called 'sobou' (related to the week). According to the village tradition the ceremony has a religious sanction from one of the sayings of the Prophet. It is almost universal in the village with regard to the naming of the first son, but less common with the succeeding sons. The most important feature in the content of the ceremony is the killing of a yearling ram (ikk), and thus causing the blood to flow, over which the baby is passed seven times. 'Blood flowing' is supposed to ward off the effects of the 'evil eye'. It is also considered as a sacrifice for the child's life, saving the child's life by giving the life of an animal. The traditional support for this is the story of the Prophet Abraham whose son Ishmael was saved by a heaven-sent ram.¹ Such a ritual is always recommended on the occasion of [780/755/782]

¹ Ishmael according to the Koran, Isaac according to the Old Testament.

THE MAIN CHARACTERISTICS AND EVENTS OF CHILDHOOD
 as the terminal baby, or, as it is sometimes
 called, the 'last of the bunch', has no rival, it is usually suckled longer and
 is considered to be more demanding, thus requiring more protection and
 pampering since its natural growth is not assisted by the stimulus of
 rivalry. It is true that the last-born child in a family is regarded as spoilt,
 and in normal social life this fact could be used by others to account for
 its shortcomings.

It is also acknowledged that the youngest child becomes jealous im-
 mediately his mother's abdomen becomes enlarged on pregnancy and he
 is usually told of the forthcoming event. The mother hums phrases expres-
 sing her sympathy with the child's jealousy and anxiety in store for him.
 The custom, though not so common now as it was twenty years ago, is for
 the older child after the birth of a new baby to wear round its neck one,
 two, or three cubes of sulphur called cubes of jealousy, wrapped in a piece
 of leather. This is supposed to minimize the dangers of excessive jealousy,
 as although jealousy is a healthy drive for growth, its excess might have
 ill effects on the child. It could induce diarrhoea, swellings, lack of appetite,
 temper tantrums, and sleeplessness.¹

Such symptoms of illness caused by jealousy are diagnosed, and a tradi-
 tional cure is administered by the mother, grandmother or an experienced
 old woman. The cure is called 'kurfa', which literally means something
 that dispels aggressiveness and sulkiness. The 'kurfa' consists of an egg
 fried in oil with garlic and spices which is given to the child to eat, usually
 when his suckling sibling is asleep. Now the jealous child is in complete
 possession of his mother's attention; she feeds him on the 'kurfa', while
 he sits on her lap. He is told of how 'awful' his sibling is, and how 'nice
 and grown-up' he himself looks. After finishing his egg, the child's body is
 rubbed with the same cooking oil to ease the tensions of envy in his body.
 These titbits of food represent the few instances in which the knee-baby
 is allowed to recapture fully his mother's love and to dethrone his younger
 sibling. It is a symbolic acceptance of a break in the normal behaviour of
 the knee-baby, rewarded by regressive gratification. This 'kurfa' meal is
 a propitiatory means of enabling the older child to withstand the strains
 of sibling rivalry, and to accept the newborn baby with whom he has to
 identify himself later, either by looking after it or by taking it out to play.
 Such propitiation becomes more significant in the process of growing up
 when it is realized that the child is not allowed to manifest his anxiety
 over, or his deprivation from, his mother on pain of punishment. Such
 states of temper, tantrums or sulkiness are sometimes dealt with by the
 mother pretending to strike the younger baby who is the cause of the
 child's troubles. The great deal of roughness and aggression displayed in
 children's play outside the home could be considered as a cultural outlet
 for some of their repressed hostility towards their siblings and parents.

¹ 'Swelling and outbursting' are used figuratively in the villagers' language to denote
 jealousy. Especially in women's altercations, one hears the phrase, 'You have a swelling
 from me', meaning 'you are jealous'.

MAGICIANS AND MAGIC

smells it unconscious. Evidently the man induces his enemy to come to his house, and the latter, not knowing what has been prepared for him, becomes unconscious from the fumes before he has time to realize the trick played upon him. This method has been tried and has never failed, according to my informant.

In order to restore consciousness the urine of a man must be injected up the nostrils, which, I am told, is a sure restorative. Anyone who makes a fire of this kind must first take a mixture of *semn* (see p. 167) and olive oil, and stuff it up his nostrils to prevent himself also from being overcome by the fumes.

This device is likewise resorted to by people who are travelling across desolate and dangerous spots, where they are liable to meet wild animals. These, on sniffing the fumes from the fire, become unconscious, so that the travellers can pass them by in safety.

One day in 1926 when I was visiting a certain village in Middle Egypt one of my friends there, a very respectable and well-to-do man, came to see me and informed me that he had had several articles stolen from his house, and that he intended to call in the help of a magician who was clever at discovering thieves by means of divination. He invited me to attend the ceremony, which took place a few days later. The magician came from another village a few miles off, and was brought to me to be introduced. I ordered coffee and cigarettes, and after these refreshments had been partaken of we settled down to the business in hand. Some writing-paper was torn into small strips, and a different name, suggested in every case by my friend, was written on each. The magician produced a copy of the *Ḳorān*, and asked for an iron doorkey. One was brought, which he rejected, as he said it was not native-made. A suitable one, however, was found, and then the magician opened the book at a certain chapter, put in one of the inscribed slips of paper, and inserted the doorkey, leaving the handle of the key outside the book. This book and key were now bound together with string, in such a way as to prevent the key from moving. A pottery saucer containing a charcoal fire was then brought, into which the magician dropped incense. A third man who was present and the magician faced each other on either side of the burning incense, the *Ḳorān* being suspended by the key on the first finger of the right hand of each man (Fig. 118). The fumes from the incense rose around the *Ḳorān*, passages from which were recited by the magician. Presently the book began to move, and, according

SUPERSTITIONS

passed, "*Mā shā' Allāh, mā shā' Allāh; ṣalla 'a 'n-Nebi, ṣalla 'a 'n-Nebi,*" as fast as they could speak. F 114 754 755 753

Another year, when I was again visiting this village, I contracted a bad chill, accompanied by fever. Some of the village women insisted on seeing me, and, with many head-shakings, declared that it was the evil eye again, and in any case they must make the usual test to see. Alum was burned in a fire placed in a pottery saucer, and while it was burning it was carefully watched by my village friends. Alum, when thus being heated, forms a lot of little bubbles, which the peasants call 'eyes,' and the women watching this process remarked on the number of eyes that had been cast at me, and that it was no wonder I was ill. When the alum becomes a charred mass it is supposed to assume a male or female form. In this instance it assumed both, so it was decided that the harm done to me had been committed by both a man and a woman. Sometimes the alum, after being burned, is submitted to an old woman, who is supposed to be able to tell who the actual culprit is. After this test, in my case, several presents of incense were sent to me by my poor neighbours. The Coptic priest, then living in the desert monastery near by, also sent me some, which, he said, had been blessed in the church. All this incense was, at different times, burned in the room where I lay ill, the saucer in which it was burning being passed over me seven times. As I got decidedly better a day or two later it was, of course, credited to the incense, which had, so they believed, destroyed the harm done to me by the evil eye. F [278] [789] F [751] • F C 755 754



FIG. 133. NECKLACE WORN BY A YOUNG CHILD TO AVERT THE EVIL EYE

Blue beads, and necklaces made of them, are worn by women and children (Fig. 133) as protective charms against this supposed evil; and animals are decorated with blue cotton tassels and strings of beads, with the same end in view. Red is also an effective charm, and I have often noticed, as a string of camels has passed by me in the cultivation or in the desert, that the leading animal is wearing red tassels or blue beads, or both, round its neck. The F 751 754 822 831

THE FELLAHIN OF UPPER EGYPT

751 idea is, I suppose, that it is on the first camel that the eye would
754 be cast. A pattern is sometimes cut in the hair on one or more
822 of the legs of a camel. I was told that this is often done to keep
231 the evil eye off that part of the animal's body. For if its legs are
firm and well covered with flesh some one may cast the eye over
it, and the camel will fall down.

754 A certain woman in Upper Egypt who was well known to possess
the evil eye saw a very fine camel coming along one of the paths
in the cultivation. "Oh," she said, "what a splendid camel!"
whereupon the animal fell down and broke one of its legs. The
truth of this story was vouched for by my informant, who declared
that he saw the accident happen and heard what the woman said.

852 If a child under eight years of age is thin and delicate the mother,
755 or, if her husband will not allow her to do so, a neighbour, will
782 carry it to the bank of the Nile on the first day of the inundation,
262 taking with her some dates and *kishk*.¹ She then stands at the edge
of the water, holding the child in her arms, and makes it throw the
dates and *kishk*, one by one, into the river. As the child throws
in each article it must say to the water, "As you increase in depth,
may I increase in strength!" After this the woman undresses the
child and bathes it in the river. It is believed that the child will
then grow steadily stronger. Angels are supposed to be in the
water, and they, it is thought, will take the dates and the *kishk*,
and, in return for these gifts, will remove the weakness from the
child.

755 A child may suffer from a cough accompanied by gasping, as
if it could hardly breathe. This may happen at any time until it
has passed the age of seven years.² To cure it the mother, or
grandmother (either paternal or maternal), or a woman friend,
takes the child early in the morning to the enclosure (*saribeh*) in
which the sheep and goats are kept in the fields at night. She
enters the *saribeh* and hands the child over to the shepherd, who
lays it on its back on the ground, and, taking a knife, places the
blunt edge against the child's throat, pretending to cut it. The
child will then start crying, whereupon the man will remove the
knife and return the child to the woman who brought it.

000 Sheep are regarded as very gentle animals, and are supposed

¹ Small cakes, sometimes round like large marbles, and made of flour and milk.

[114] ² After this age the mother's *saribeh* cannot injure it. For fuller information
on this subject see pp. 71 ff.

functions of grocer and druggist, café-keeper and innkeeper, 443
 money-lender and banker. He is the most Egyptianised 563
 of Europeans. He has no objection to living right in the
 village, among the fellaheen if not with them, and on them if
 not for them. He has brought into this closed world the
 gramophone and the games of the West. He robs the fella-
 heen and teaches them the use of narcotics, but he is un- [276]
 failingly obliging. Though his rates are exorbitant, he will 424
 lend money on request without asking too many questions.
 He sells on credit, and when he buys he pays cash. The
 fellaheen appreciate his resourcefulness and enterprise.

Other less important but more popular figures stand out
 from the mass by virtue of some well-defined social functions
 long sanctified by custom.

First comes the *mizayen* or barber-surgeon. He is a very 759
 busy man. He shaves all the fellaheen of his district once 463
 a month, and crops their hair. Squatting in front of his 302
 client, who also squats, he takes a dish of water between [516]
 his knees, and an old razor between finger and thumb, and
 quickly tidies up the face and head. An aching tooth? He
 will pull it out. Cupping, scarification, purge? No difficulty [752]
 at all. He is responsible for public health, and therefore [751]
 performs vaccinations, and notifies deaths to the 'omda.
 The *mizayen* also officiates at circumcisions, and on the eve
 of this operation, or of a wedding, the hair-cutting takes on [304]
 something of a ritual significance. He surrounds it with
 ceremony, and in so doing dignifies his art. For his varied
 services he is paid either in kind at harvest time or in [465]
 milliemes.

The magician or sorcerer, with his charms, his formulae, 754
 his perfumed sachets and his magic remedies, would be a 756
 serious rival to the *mizayen*, were it not that his credulous 791
 customers are chiefly women. He may live in the village
 or merely pass through. It is to him that the country women
 have recourse in order to get the help of jinns, to cast
 spells, to counteract the evil eye or to ensure conception.
 No-one can make them believe that this holy man is just
 a rascal and an impostor. The more magic babble he puts
 into his rites, the more confidence they place in him. In-
 deed there are many instances in which trickery is not a suf-
 ficient explanation for the effects produced. A whole book 754
 might be written on witchcraft in the village, and its affinity

843 avoids looking at any dead person, and gazes on portraits of handsome men, perhaps magazine cuttings that she has pinned on the wall. She must be able to eat what she likes. If she is thwarted, the child will be seriously affected.

846 Immediately after birth the baby is put in a basket, 783 which serves as a cradle, and is not washed for seven days. [852] The first bath has a ritual significance of purification. It is given by the midwife, and the water is poured from a pot (*abraq*) specially kept for this purpose, with different ornamentation for a girl and for a boy. The mother is technically impure for thirty or forty days after, according as the child is a girl or a boy. These Moslem customs are also found in Morocco.

844 If at the moment of birth the father is working in the fields, and the child is a son, a friend will run and tell him [851] the good news, for which he can claim a gift. This tradition recalls a text in Jeremiah: 'Cursed be the man who took the tidings to my father, saying to him "A son is born", and who filled him with joy'. (Ch. XX, v.15).

777 As soon as the child is born, a blue bead is hung round 751 his neck to turn away the evil eye. For the same reason the boy of whom his parents are so proud may be dressed like a girl, till he is weaned. His mother will give him suck for two years at least, at far too frequent intervals, thus 853 causing gastric troubles. This is the length of time favoured 842 by the ancient Egyptians, by the black peoples of Africa, 586 and by Koranic precept: "Divorced mothers shall give suck to their children for two full years" (Sura II, 233). The peasant women think that by weaning late they will delay another pregnancy.

854 When the time comes for her to go out — and this happens 482 very soon — she carries the infant astride her shoulder, which does not prevent her from carrying a pot full of water on her head. While she is working in the fields she puts her baby on the ground, near the path which threads the crops, in the shadow of the maize. The baby does not always have something to lie on, but rolls in the furrow, puts earth in its mouth, screams, sleeps and gets used to it all. If it cries 853 too loud, any passing mother will give it her breast.

854 The child stays at home until his fifth year. He soon gets used to the company of the animals there. Before 857 long he is capable of looking after them and can take the

FOLK MEDICINE IN MODERN EGYPT

III

THE MUSHĀHARA

708 THIS is a quantity of stones of different colours, strung together along with a quantity of pieces of silver and gold which are called *masākhiṭ*. (*Masākhiṭ* in the technical language of the womenfolk means people on whom the wrath of Allah has alighted for some crime they have committed in the past, and on account of which He has changed [p. 14] their original nature.¹)

708 The owner of this necklace sees herself possessed of great
 751 wealth, because, as she and others like her imagine, it protects
 842 a woman during confinement from the misfortune of barrenness,
 753 and those afflicted with ophthalmia from the ill-luck of losing an eye. Accordingly you see every barren woman, and everyone afflicted with ophthalmia, having the *mushāhara* brought to them from some place or another, even if the woman's circumstances compel either her mother to pledge her ornaments, or her father to pay out all his money as security for the stones to the owner of the *mushāhara*, lest they should be lost. The strange thing is that so many believe that the life of their sick one depends upon whether the "old woman," who is the owner of the *mushāhara*, hands it over or not.

IV

THE KABBĀS STONE (ḤAGAR AL-KABBĀS)

708 THIS should rather be called the principal of the *mushāhara*²
 751 because, whereas the *mushāhara* protects one from falling into

¹ [*Masākhiṭ* (singular, *masākhiṭ*) = images. Some of the parts of the above-mentioned conglomerate necklace or *mushāhara*, are in the form of crude images, such as are commonly found in the ruins of antiquity. The popular belief in Egypt was, and still is in some places, that the statues and images of the old Pharaonic times were really the vestiges of ancient infidels whom Allah in His anger had petrified. Tr.]

² [i.e., the stone of greatest efficacy in the necklace. Tr.]

FOLK MEDICINE IN MODERN EGYPT

harm, this stone rescues one from harm after one has fallen.⁷⁹⁸
Both in the case of a confined woman, and also of those⁷⁵¹
afflicted with purulent ophthalmia, it is rubbed and its water
drunk.¹ Our experience is that the harm done by the *kabbās*
is greater than that done by the rest of its brethren which are
strung with it on the cord of absurdities and vanities, because
the harm of these is limited to their delaying the patient from
calling in a doctor; but *it* is harmful on account of its rubbing
upon the *maḥār* (or mother of pearl shell which is employed),
as a result of which hard particles fly off which do not agree
with the ailing eye, for when they are put into it the cornea
becomes ulcerated. As is obvious, there is extreme danger
in this.

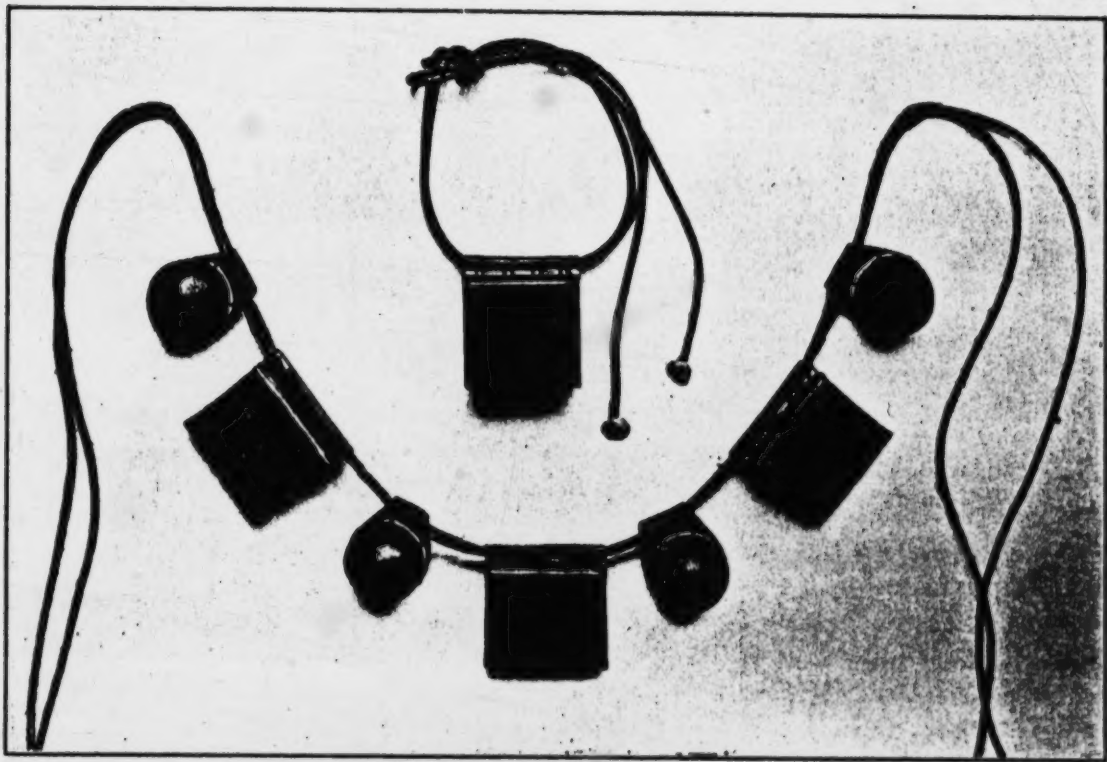
V

TREATMENT FOR THOSE AFFLICTED WITH LEPROSY AND SYPHILIS

SELDOM do the people of the villages and the remote places⁷⁵⁷
treat themselves properly for the diseases which trouble them.
In consequence you see among them people afflicted with^[164]
leprosy, syphilis and elephantiasis. When these diseases
sorely oppress them, they go off to the village of Balkamūna
in the *Ḡharbiya* Province, where there is to be found a man⁷⁵⁹
famous in all the provinces of Lower Egypt, named Al-Ḥāgg
Aḥmed. They complain to him of their pain. He immediately
uncovers the patient, splits the flesh of his back and extracts⁷⁵⁷
from it pieces of the muscles or sinews. He then sprinkles over³⁷⁸
the wound certain powders, the best known of which is blue

¹ [This last statement requires some elucidation. The *ḡagar-al-kabbās*
is a small stone which is rubbed on a mother-of-pearl shell (*maḥāra*) into which
drops of water from a *ḡulla*, or earthenware jar, are let fall. This water
becomes whitish after a little, and is then drunk by the patient, or in the case
of eye-disease, as mentioned above, it is used as an eye-lotion. Hence the
injury done by the particles of the shell to the cornea. Miss W. S. Blackman
in her book, *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt* (p. 203) mentions this "cure" and
gives an interesting photographic record. She asserts, however, that it is
called *ḡagar-ef-farfā* (stone of the tamarisk). Tr.]

4: Walker E-4 (no date) 1934 MRJ3 Fellahin MRJ3
(ca. 1890)



MOSLEM AMULETS

Two stamped leather amulets of the kind used in Egypt to-day as prophylactics.
(By kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.)

FOLK MEDICINE IN MODERN EGYPT

displaced, and that she can by such means put them into their place again. 755

VIII

"SPLITTING OF THE EYE" (BAZLAT-AL-'AIN)

THIS is used generally to mean chronic granular ophthalmia. Those afflicted employ for its cure a piece of fleshy red meat¹ which is hung in front of the afflicted eye or eyes.

I do not know any good this piece of meat does except that it quickly becomes a source of putrefaction, and a collector of the different morbid causes which lead to the complete loss of the patient's eye [p. 22]. 764

IX

AMULETS²

THE common people constantly have recourse to those who monopolize the art of making amulets, in order to obtain help by their means when calamity troubles them and sickness makes them complain. Whenever a person is afflicted by some hysterical weakness or nervous disease, his relatives say of him that he is certainly bewitched, or in possession of a *jinnī*. They do not know even yet that sorcery and the interpenetration of bodies (by evil spirits) are absurd and falsified by all evidence. No intelligent person has ever accepted such things, unless what Hārūt and Mārūt³ introduced in order to 754
753
776

¹ [Sometimes instead, a small bored red bead, usually a carnelian ('*aḥṭṭ*) is suspended from the head of the sufferer. Tr.]

² [*Tamī'im*, plural of *tamīma*. Tr.]

³ [These are the names of two rebellious angels of Babylon, who were noted magicians. According to the Koran, ii, 96, the devils at the time of King Salmón taught mankind sorcery "and what had been revealed to the two angels in Babylon, Hārūt and Mārūt." The identification of the names is uncertain. They may be of Zoroastrian origin. Consult the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, sub voce; and Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 1926, pp. 146-8. Margoliouth (in the *Moslem World*, 1928, p. 74) endeavours to trace their names to the James and Mambres or Jannes and Jambres, the magicians of the time of Moses (2 Timothy iii. 8), and of the N.T. Apocrypha (Gospel of Nicodemus v. 5). Tr.]

FOLK MEDICINE IN MODERN EGYPT

778 without connotation, such as Shambūriḥ, Dahiniḥ, and
 789 Budūḥ, etc.¹ on a patch of paper in disjointed letters. This
 832 clearly demonstrates the way by which they mislead the minds
 of simpletons. They also order them to burn these as incense
 with substances known to them, which help, in their opinion,
 to plant love in the heart. Or they write Rawwāḥ ibn
Hawwāḥ or Zuḥal (i.e. Saturn), etc. [p. 37] in the manner
 indicated, and then charge them to fumigate them with
 herring skin at the time when the people concerned cohabit, if
 the aim be the creation of hatred and dislike between her
 husband and the woman he loves and desires. And there is
 no doubt that quacks such as these are a menace to all praise-
 worthy characteristics and noble customs, chiefly because by
 their endeavouring to cause a separation, by means of imagina-
 tion, between a husband and his deluded wife, they obtain
 access, in the majority of cases, to the circumstances of the
 family, in a manner that is other than admirable. This they
 [687] accomplish because during the shell-divining and bibliomancy
 and amulet-fabrication they learn the name of the woman,
 and the names of the members of her family, and their deep
 secrets. As a result, they do all they can to create mischief
 and ruin.

778 The writing of amulets in the villages is not undertaken by
 789 Moors only, but there are other individuals who have special
 799 haunts which are known to the *fellāḥīn*.

In the neighbourhood of Kôm al-Akḥḍar in the Buḥaira
 Province, the reputation of a number of them was spread
 abroad to the effect that they were able to fabricate amulets
 and talismans, until the value of one of them was not less than a
 hundred piastres [a little more than a pound sterling]. They
 then order the owner of the amulet not to open it, for if he do,

[796] ¹ [Names of magic import. Shambūriḥ, or its variant, Samhūriḥ, appears
 in Islamic angelology as the title of a celestial being. There are many such
 figures, no doubt of Gnostic, or even earlier, origin. E. Blochet in his *Études*
sur le Gnosticisme musulmane (in the *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 1909, p. 719
 ff.), identifies him with St. George of the Apocryphal Acts. He says (p. 726)
 that the name has no meaning either in Hebrew, in Aramaic, or in Greek;
 so he finds an Iranian parallel. But I would suggest that the word ultimately
 comes from the Hebrew Shemhamphorēḥ, i.e., the Ineffable Name of God.

• [751] As for Budūḥ, it is the well-known group of letters often found in Arabic.
 [801] talismanic squares, and still written on envelopes as a prophylactic. The
 numerical value equals 2468. Tr.]

FOLK MEDICINE IN MODERN EGYPT

gence. Ibn Kalada¹ has said: "He who desires to sell his life cheaply let him give a little of his time to fair women." 831

XVIII

THE 'UḲĀD AND THE KHŪṢA

THE 'UḲād is a thread of wool which is tied in seven knots, over each of which a special incantation is pronounced, and it is blown upon by people who are well-known for this "operation." The Khūṣa is made of the branches of palm-trees which the patient presents on the morning of some Friday at the instigation of the Faḳīh, who receives it and recites over it a number of incantations and protective circular charms (Taḥāwīf). Both of these are used in the curing of colds and fevers. This is why you see many children with them round their necks, because they are more liable to these two ailments. In the villages a mother is considered negligent of her child if she does not place round its neck an 'UḲād of this sort, which will keep him, as she asserts, from illness. 755 778 751 [64]

XIX

BARRENNESS ('UḲM)

ONE of the best "remedies" for barrenness is to walk over a person who has been killed. This is a famous old "remedy," even with inhabitants of large towns. It is long since we used to see, when our professors were lecturing on Anatomy in the Kaṣr al-'Ainī College [p. 45] many ladies coming to the dissecting room in order that they might pass over the dead, with this object in view. 842

Some women who are barren carry a silique of wool dipped in

¹ [This is Al-Hārith ibn Kalada, a contemporary of the Prophet Muḥammad, and at one time a celebrated physician at the court of the Persian King Anūsharwān. Tr.]

FOLK MEDICINE IN MODERN EGYPT

849 Barrenness, they believe, sometimes arises also from the
 754 entering in unto the mother of a woman who has weaned her
 862 child. The "cure" in this case, according to their statement,
 751 is for the barren woman to carry a rag of wool wet with the
 milk of a woman who has recently weaned her child.

XXIII

THE KARINA

164 THE Bedouins name this the "Heat" (*Harāra*). This name
 753 is used generally for the class of diseases of the throat (the
 original symptom of which is difficulty in breathing) such as
 diphtheria (*khunnāk*) and convulsion and drying up of the
 uvula, and the like. The "prescriptions" of the "old wives"
 757 are self-contradictory in regard to its "cure." Some of them
 think that the correct thing is cauterisation [p. 49] of the child
 upon its frontal and terminal crown (*yāfūkh*). The child,
 however, finds relief from their folly, inasmuch as there is
 [165] soon set up inflammation of the brain (meningitis), of which it
 dies.

[53A] "And he who does not die of cautery will die of something
 else;
 The "prescriptions" are many but the death is one."

Others again hold to the belief in replacing the cauterisation
 by scarifying with a razor instead, on both sides (front and
 back). This is the method followed by the Bedouin. The
 Arabs of Mariūt and al-Hāgīr instead of all these, bore two
 holes in the child's ears through which they pass a thread of
 753 red silk. The "old wives" have different absurd theories
 776 as to the cause of this disease in children. Some of them
 claim that every male child has a sister (*ukhāt*) among the Jinn,

FOLK MEDICINE IN MODERN EGYPT

XXIV

THE CHANGELING (MABDŪL)

776 SOME people say that a child is sometimes a changeling, that
 855 is, that the Jinn have substituted it for another, and for this
 695 they have two "remedies." In the Buḥaira Province, and its
 783 neighbourhood, they put the child, about sunset, inside an
 oven which has no fire underneath, and close the door tightly,
 and leave it there until the morning. When they abandon it
 they say, "God is between us and you; give *us* *our* son and
 take *your* *own*."

But in Gīza and Benī Suḩf, and the surrounding districts, in
 place of the oven they choose an abandoned tomb, in which
 no dead person has been buried during a year at least.

These are the two savage methods followed. Often the child
 dies for want of breath inside the oven, or the tomb; or else
 some dangerous accident may lead to its destruction.

XXV

[p. 51] "THE FATHER OF FEATHERS" (ABŪ RISH)

"*Oh, Father of Feathers, please God, you will live.*"
 (*Yā Abū rish in shallāh ta'ī sh*).

840 If a woman have one child only, and whenever she has
 751 another boy or girl it dies, she immediately invokes the aid of
 an "old wife," one of the sorceresses, who bids her dress the
 child, who she fears will die, in a great peaked cap,¹ decorated
 with feathers from a goose or common hen or turkey, and to
 gird it with a black shawl, and thereafter set it on a black she-
 ass, with its back to the front. Then the boys and girls of
 the village, or city,² gather round him, and call out with one
 voice, "*Oh, Father of feathers, please God, you will live!*"
 They go round the village in this way three times, or even four
 to make quite sure.

¹ [*Tarfār*, like a dunce's cap.]

² [I have seen such a procession in Cairo near the Citadel. Tr.]

FOLK MEDICINE IN MODERN EGYPT

757 One of the methods of "cure" is to draw a cross¹ on the temple of the patient with saliva. This way, if it be free from [755] the harm of vein-cutting, is yet a bad innovation, and will not please those who love the Divine Law, because it may give place to the [p. 63] belief of foolish and simple people, instead of to truth and reality. We have even seen many fools who have tattooed² crosses upon their temples to guard against the evil of *Ṣudā'*.

755 We shall now mention by way of wonder and curiosity, not without doubt and scepticism, a method of which the success is famous in all parts of Egypt for the "cure" of this disease. It is a charm (*azīma*) which is recited by His Excellency Mahdī Bey, Treasurer of the Public Debt, and those afflicted with headache are immediately "cured." The matter has been verified by experiments and testified to by eye-witnesses. It has been emphatically stated to me that many from the farthest parts of Egypt afflicted with this ailment used to come to the capital with this object, and would return after having obtained a perfect "cure." All I knew about the effect of the charm upon the sick, was that there was no danger in it to life. It would have been well if His Excellency had explained it and imparted it to people in whose veracity one could rely. It is indeed, His Excellency's duty towards humanity in view of the affliction of those tormented with this very oppressive ailment.

[751] ¹ [Many Moslem women wear crosses, or hang them on their children to drive away evil spirits, or *'afārit*. At first sight it appears strange that Moslems should be found wearing the Christian emblem. But it is really a case of sympathetic magic. The evil spirits are conceived as being of Christian origin and therefore unwilling to approach anyone protected by Christian symbols. Miss Blackman, *op. cit.*, p. 65, has apparently overlooked this explanation. The old story of St. Dunstan driving away the Devil by means of a horse's shoe, the devil's own emblem is a similar case. I am indebted to Miss A. Gibson, M.A. formerly headmistress of the Scottish School for Girls in Alexandria, Egypt, for this reference. We still use horse shoes for good luck without thinking of their long folk-history. For the prophylactic value of the cross among Moslems reference may be made to F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, I. pp. 30-31. Tr.]

² [For examples of tattooing amongst certain Egyptian lower-class types, see article in the *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, vol. V. (1923). Willmore, *Spoken Arabic of Egypt*, pp. 364-5 gives some tattooing superstitions. See also Dr. Fouquet: *Le tatouage médical en Égypte dans l'antiquité et à l'époque actuelle* (*Archives d'Anthropologie criminelle*), Lyon xiii, 1899, p. 270 ff. Tr.]

FOLK MEDICINE IN MODERN EGYPT

claiming payment. Had it been in the past centuries, people would have retaliated on the "old wife." (May Allah wage war upon Ignorance!)

To protect camels from "envy," an old shoe is hung upon its temple, but I do not know the reason for this.

On the breast of a horse the tooth of a hyena is hung. This old absurdity is the custom current amongst horse-fanciers, of bedecking their steeds with this tooth which they reckon the greatest of ornaments.

On a donkey a wolf's tooth is hung.

Children have put in their hair a piece of *fāsūkh* or *jāwī*, and they hang upon their necks pieces of the bones of the eagle, or of any animal of prey, along with some shells.

It happens sometimes on a day that a milch cow refuses its milk because of some disease or other cause. So the "old wife" announces [p. 98] to them that it is "envied" and orders the placing of its halter in a forsaken grave until the cow gives milk.

As for our discourse on envy, if we suppose it to be true, then what happens daily in the provinces is not of that nature. On the contrary, they are symptoms of various diseases such as we have previously diagnosed. In most cases they are marsh fevers which arise from the water-courses and swamps surrounding the villages, and which, in the time of ploughing, are very common, especially after irrigation and the ploughing of the wheat and clover land, owing to the great putrefaction of the vegetable refuse on the land.

As for getting rid of swamps, that is a matter entrusted to the intelligent members of the community who apprehend the destruction of their own health and that of their children. In ploughing it is necessary for ploughmen to take a good square meal before undertaking the work, and to protect their heads from the influence of the sun.

with which she completely covered herself. Presently she clapped her hands two or three times, thus summoning "the brothers and sisters beneath the earth," i.e. the 'afārū. They spoke to her, and after various messages from them had been conveyed to us through the magician, my friend's wife asked her to enquire what had become of her husband's *karin*. "Oh," replied the 'afārū, "he is dead also, and your *karinck* is a widow." The magician was something of a ventriloquist, and her voice changed completely when the 'afārū spoke through her.

As I have stated above, the *afārū*, besides being like their human prototypes in colouring and physical features, also resemble them in character. The Egyptians are of a very jealous disposition, and this quality is strongly marked among the women with regard to the possession of children. Childlessness is a real terror to them, and the more children they have, the happier they are. Such, at any rate, is the case among the *fellāhīn*. They are often very jealous of the offspring of another, and therefore precautions are taken to protect the children from the ill-effects of the "evil-eye," or "eye of envy."

A woman's *karinck* may also be jealous of the human children, in spite of the fact that if a child is born to a woman the *karin* or *karinck* of that child represents the offspring of the mother's *karinck*. Various measures are taken to safeguard the human child from the possible machinations of its mother's "double." Indeed, the mother herself, during her pregnancy, must also be protected, for her *karinck*, in a fit of jealousy, may come at night while she sleeps and strike her "on the belly," thus causing premature birth. This is curious, as, presumably, the mother's *karinck* would also lose her child. But, at any rate in some parts of Egypt, the belief is that when a child dies it goes to the mother's *karinck*, who would in this way possess at least one child, even if her own child (i.e. the human child's "double") died at the same time as its human prototype.

Sometimes the *karinck* speaks roughly to the expectant mother, but refrains from striking her. In such a case the woman will go at daybreak to see a magician or a *sheikh* and will ask him to write a protection (*ḥiḡāb*) for her. The protection (or written charm) is the agreement of the *karinck* with King David—for it happened one day that David saw one of them unfasten her hair, and fire was issuing from her mouth. So he asked her, "What is your work?" She answered him, "If a woman is pregnant, I come by night and strike her on her belly, so that she will give birth to a dead child. And if I do not do this, but allow her to bear the child safely, I may sometimes come and strike the baby, or cause a snake to bite or a scorpion to sting it, so that it will die." Then David said to her, "If this is your work I will kill you," and he spoke threateningly to her. So she made an agreement with him and said, "If a mother carries your words on her person I will never do her harm." So David consented to this suggestion and let her go on her way. Therefore, if a pregnant woman thinks she has cause to fear that her *karinck* will do her an injury, she will apply for a *ḥiḡāb* and wear it till her child is born, when she will give it to the infant,

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[843] hanging it round its neck till it is seven years old, after which period it will be immune.

The *kuriaak* seen by King David was the queen of them all, and the promise she gave is binding on all her subjects. She herself is not, according to my informant, the "double" of any human being; she is by herself, and, like the king of the *ajda*, lives for ever.

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[767] If a woman's children have died one after the other, soon after they were born, when another one arrives she has it tattooed with a small round spot in the centre of the forehead, while a similar spot is tattooed on the left ankle. After this she believes that her *kuriaak* will not attempt to touch her child.

Apparently, during the notable interview between King David and the queen of the *kuriaaks* the latter promised him that if a child bore these marks she would not touch him or her.

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753 A *kuriaak* may do good or evil to a mother's children till they have passed the age of seven years. She only does harm, so I was told, if the mother has been doing something wrong. For instance, if the *kuriaak* clutches a child by the throat, it means that the child's mother has been ill-tempered, and so on.

[755] A man's *kuria* does not affect his children, it only affects him. If he should lose his temper with his wife or family, or with his friends, or does wrong in any way, and goes to bed unrepentant, he may wake up in the morning and find that some illness has attacked him. This has been caused by his *kuria*. When he is sorry and expressed repentance, or has called in a magician, who will give him a charm to wear under his left arm, he will be cured.

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778 If a child seems sickly and gets thinner and weaker every day, the mother knows that her *kuriaak* is trying to draw her child away from her. Various devices are resorted to in order to mitigate this evil. Near a small village in Asyut Province there is a large stone which is called the stone of the Sheikh Fâtîmeh, who is believed to be buried here. If a child is being drawn away by its mother's *kuriaak*, the mother will take it on a Friday to this stone, near which she will place the child, and she herself will stay to watch over it. If the child goes to sleep quietly the mother knows that it will recover, but if it cries and refuses to sleep she takes it home again, knowing full well that it will shortly die. I have myself seen a child lying near the stone fast asleep, with its mother sitting close by. (Pl. XIV, Fig. 1.) $\frac{2}{A}$

[787] In a village in Middle Egypt there is an old disused graveyard, crowned by the domed tomb of a celebrated local sheikh. The other graves are now fallen into ruin, and many of them show large, gaping hollows. (Pl. XIV, Fig. 2.) $\frac{2}{A}$ A woman whose child is affected by her *kuriaak* will take it and place it in one of these cavities, the results being the same as in the case of the stone of the Sheikh Fâtîmeh.

755 A child may suffer from a cough, accompanied by gasping, as if it could hardly breathe. It is liable to such an attack at any time till it has passed the age of seven years. To cure it, the mother or grandmother (either paternal or maternal), or a

$\frac{2}{A}$ [See Category 116, PMR facing p. 168 - Analyst]

WINIFRED S. BLACKMAN.—*The Karin and Karisak.*

167

woman friend, will sometimes carry the child early in the morning to a sirbek made of *44s* (dried *duru* stalks) in which the sheep are kept in the field at night. She also takes a knife with her, and, entering the sirbek, will hand the child over to the shepherd. The shepherd, having placed the child on its back on the ground, will take the knife which the woman brought with her and will place the blunt edge against the child's throat and pretend to cut it. The child will then start crying, upon which the man will remove the knife and return the child to the woman who brought it. It is believed that good angels watch over the sheep, as they are looked upon as gentle animals, and that these angels, on hearing the child cry, will drive away its mother's *karisak* who has caused the illness by clutching at the child's throat. According to my informant, this belief is common all over Egypt.

I could quote many instances of illness caused to children by their mother's *karisak* during this dangerous period of seven years.

That a woman's *karisak* may sometimes perform a kindly action is shown in the following belief. One of the many devices resorted to by a woman whose child has died and who has failed to produce further offspring is as follows. The would-be mother will lie down between the lines on a railway track, remaining in this position while the train passes over her. One of the reasons given for this practice is that when a mother is thus frightened her *karisak* will come to her with the soul of her dead child and cause it to re-enter the mother. This implies a belief in reincarnation, and I have obtained further information which points to a definite belief in rebirth. For an ancient example of belief in reincarnation reference may be made to the well-known Tale of the Two Brothers.¹

The following is a translation of the written charm worn by an expectant mother who has reason to fear harm being done to her offspring by her *karisak*. The charm is obviously Coptic, but it is used by Muslim mothers as well as those professing Christianity: "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for He is a great Lord who created the seen and the unseen things; He whom we cannot see with our eyes, and with whom no evil will dwell; who also knoweth well all things that will happen in the future; to whom all the angels cry, saying 'Hallowed be Thy Name'; from whom all evils fly away; who is praised by all things in the Heaven and all the earth, for He is a mighty Lord. Oh, mighty God, I ask Thee to protect N.N., who is carrying my protection, and protect what is in her womb, and him whom she will nurse with her milk, from the evil *karisak*, for the sake of Thy mighty ring (*i.e.* the charm square)."

The probable meaning of the square is, so I was told, "Go on Gabriel, go on Michael, go on Raphael, go on Suriyal, go on Maniyal, for the sake of our Mighty God, and burn this *karisak* in the fire." These are said to be the words of King David. (Pl. XIV, Fig. 3.)²

¹ *Faerie, Egyptian Faerie*, II, pp. 16 ff.

² See category 116, plate facing p. 168--Analyst]

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FIG. 1.—STONE OF THE SHERIEN
FATIMER.FIG. 2.—RUINED GRAVES AT LARUN, IN THE APERTURES OF
WHICH CHILDREN ARE PLACED WHEN AFFECTED BY THE
MOTHER'S REVING.

باسم الله انت بالرقائيم هو الرنا العظيم فالرنا جميع الظهورات القوية اذى لوزاه
المعيرة ولا تخاطله اظفوره يعلم بما يكونه قبل انه يكونه شقعة الموكفة سلاطينه
وتخالفات طيبه سه قدرته يسبح له كل ما فى السموات وعلى الارضه وهو على كل شى وقدير
اللهم باسمك العظيم وزناك العزى ونور وروحك الكريم انه تخاطط على مائدة محراب
هنا وعلى مائدة بطنا وعلى القبة تحفه سه ليله سه افرقة اللعينة المعونة جمعه هذا
لثام ومافيه سه اسفله العظيم

توكى يا جليل	ي	٢	٣	٤
توكى يا جليل	٥	٦	٧	٨
توكى يا جليل	٩	١٠	١١	١٢
توكى يا جليل	١٣	١٤	١٥	١٦

توكى يا تال بقرة وقدة الله العظيم العظيم وعمرته اوسج ونوره اوسج حركه
القربة المعونة وملا النار

FIG. 3.—CHAIN AND CHAIN SQUARE WORN BY AN EXPECTANT MOTHER.

THE KARIH AND KARIHIN.

[Facing p. 168]

114 The beliefs described above differ somewhat from those recounted by Prof. Seligman in "Ancient Egyptian Beliefs in Modern Egypt," in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway*, Cambridge, 1913, pp. 448-451, and in Mr. G. D. Hornblower's above-quoted article. Both these authorities have obtained their information from men, the former mainly from an educated Egyptian of Luxor, the latter from an aged native of Helwan and from a wise-man of Nezlet Batrân, a village near the Gizeh pyramids. The last-mentioned informant had come in contact with an Italian spiritualist, from whom he had adopted some of his paraphernalia.

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114 Prof. Seligman says that, according to the information he obtained, "everyone has an invisible companion of the opposite sex" who is regarded and spoken of as a "sister" or "brother," and that "the death of one or more children in a family is often attributed to the influence of their mother's 'brother' (companion) and the mother and surviving children may wear iron anklets to avert this danger." He goes on to say that, "A variant of this belief asserts that if the child dies while still an infant in arms it is the *garina* of the mother that is responsible, but the *garina* of the father causes the death of bigger children" (p. 450).

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[751] I have made very careful enquiries into the question of the sex of the mother's "double" from among a variety of people, chiefly women, in Fayûm and Asyût Provinces. So far as my researches have gone, I find that my information on this point differs from that of Prof. Seligman's, for I have been invariably told that a woman has a *farinak* (the feminine form) and a man a *farin* (masc.). It will be noted that Prof. Seligman speaks of a "*garina*" in the case of both men and women. I have not heard the "double" spoken of as either a "brother" or a "sister," such epithets being reserved for the '*afârû*' (sing. '*afârî*'), who, as I stated above, are often called "our brothers and sisters beneath the earth." It is true that, according to my informants, the *afârû* also live beneath the earth, but they have a separate social organization to the '*afârû*'.

[751] I also have found that it is the custom for a mother to wear an iron anklet if she has lost all, or most of, her children; or one of her surviving children may wear the iron anklet, which, it is believed, will protect the next child that is born. I have obtained such anklets from a village in Asyût Province and also from one in Fayûm Province. I have always been definitely informed that the father's *farin* has no influence whatsoever over his children at any age.

Mr. Hornblower also states that, according to his informants, a "sister" is born with every man, though the word *farinak* (fem. of *farin*) was not used.

[784] I questioned some of my Egyptian friends in Oxford on this point, and they also declared that according to the belief held by the *fellâhîn*, a man is born with a *farinak* and a woman with a *farin*, thus upholding Prof. Seligman's and Mr. Hornblower's statements. But these Egyptian gentlemen all come from Lower Egypt, so that I think the differences between my information and that of the two above-named authorities may be owing either to difference of locality (for my information

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Nowadays there are some women who perform the Zar-ceremony (1) merely for fun or with the aim to get money or presents from their friends and relations. (2)

2. The Kūdiya or Shaikha:

In most cases the Kūdiya is a woman, rarely a man. Kūdiya with dark complexions are preferred, because it is believed that the most clever Kūdiya are Sudanese. In our terminology the Kūdiya may be described as the medium between the possessed person and the spirits. By her knowledge and ability, which will be described later, she is able to designate the spirit or /81/ spirits who entered the patient's body. A specially favourable day for the soothing of the spirit is fixed and special offerings made. The amulets (Arabic: Hegab, pl. ahgeba) and the clothes the patient must wear during the ceremony are determined. From the day the Kūdiya is called by the patient until the day of the ceremony she supervises every step taken in this respect. She has connection with the black-and goldsmiths and with the El-'Attar (plant and drug-dealer).

The Kūdiya herself is supposed to be possessed by all kinds of spirits and she wears all respective amulets. Once every year she performs a big ceremony for all these spirits. It takes place in the month of Ragab and is the closing ceremony of the year. During the following two holy months of Islam Shāban and Ramadan no Zar-ceremony may be performed. Apart from the big annual ceremony, she makes a small Zar approximately twice weekly as treatment for her patients.

The Kūdiya's position is hereditary; if she has no daughter to succeed her, the post will be passed on to one of her assistants.

- (1) It is mostly uncultured rich women who do this for fun and spend a great deal of money on it.
- (2) The social usage obliges a woman even nowadays in Egypt to give presents or money (called: No q tan) to her relatives or friends on the occasion of marriage-, birth-or Zar-ceremonies. They, in turn, are obliged to repay her if she performs any such ceremonies.

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- (c) Amulets, called Hegab, pl. Ahgeba in Arabic. They are also symbolically called "Sigha" (jewelry), because they are made of silver or gold although /84/ they are amulets. These amulets, must be worn by the patient throughout his life. They are square, oval, rectangular or round "plates", with (9) rattles or stones attached. Some of them have certain words in Arabic or designs engraved. These designs may be human figures, fish, swords, stars or a crescent. They have different names, e.g. heart amulets worn on the heart, head amulets worn on the forehead; the possessed person may also wear rings on the thumbs or bracelets on their arms or legs.
- (d) Candles and incense (Bukhur) which are burned during the Zar-ceremony also differ according to the spirit to which they are addressed. (10)

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The Zar-ceremony

The possessed person has to take the following steps before starting a Zar-ceremony:

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1. The patient must firstly consult the Kūdiya about her ailments.
 2. The Kūdiya asks for some object belonging to the patient, usually a handkerchief. This is called "Attar", i.e. "trace". This will be kept by the Kūdiya for several days during which she will study it, get in contact with her spiritual world and thereby determine the particular spirit who took possession of her patient.
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- (9) Similar plates with magical powers releasing from sickness and consecrated to the two gods Khonso and Prah are known from Ancient Egypt at the time of the New Kingdom. See Erman's book "Egypt", the Arabic translation by Abu Baker and Moharm Kamel, Cairo 1952, p. 292
- (10) Bukhur or incense is prepared under the supervision of the Kūdiya. It consists of Mastica, Ouda, Gawli, Murr Hijar, Kafur Tayar i.e. different kinds of aromatic woods etc. Bukhur was used also in Ancient Egypt; the priests used to begin the ceremonies in the temples by burning bukhur. See the Arabic translation of Erman. p. 295

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The Kūdiya and her followers stay overnight. About 10.00 A.M. the next morning the-possessed woman takes a bird or fowl in her hand, or rides on a goat, sheep or camel, thus establishing physical contact with the animal to be sacrificed, then she walks seven times round the offering table. If she is too ill to do so, the Kūdiya will pass the birds or fowl seven times over the patient's head. During this procedure the drums are beaten, incense burnt, and "Sagharid", i.e. joyful shouts, uttered by the women. They are produced by putting the tongue between the lips, moving it rapidly and uttering shrill vibrating shouts.

Then the Kūdiya or one of her assistants kills the bird or other sacrificial animal near the table, the animal's blood is carefully collected in a porcelain or ceramic plate, into which the amulets and a round silver piece are placed. The silver piece bears on one side the following inscription: "Due to the permission of the daughter of the king of the earth." On the other side is written: "Oh my masters be content with me!" This silver piece is called "Eia-Et-A' qd" or pact, i.e. treaty between the possessed person and the spirit. The patient will then be smeared with blood on the aching parts. The sacrificed animals are cooked, with the exception of their intestines, heart and liver.

In the afternoon the patient is bathed wearing amulets and jewelry. She then enters the hall in a majestic procession while the music plays and sits down beside the offering table. The hall is well prepared; all furniture is cleared away, mats are put on the floor and cushions placed along the wall for the guests. The Kūdiya and the musical band sit near the center wall. In the middle of the room is the offering table. When the patient sits down to it, the Kūdiya uncovers it. Three, five or seven ladies who had performed a Zar before, give the patient three pieces of bread with sour milk and one piece of cooked intestines. The patient eats this while the women will say: " 'Afia we bourhan" (health and proof) (13). The offerings

(13) It means apparently: "You have fulfilled your obligations towards the spirits, let this Zar contribute towards your recovery and be it a proof of your loyalty."

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